Workers of the World, Unite !

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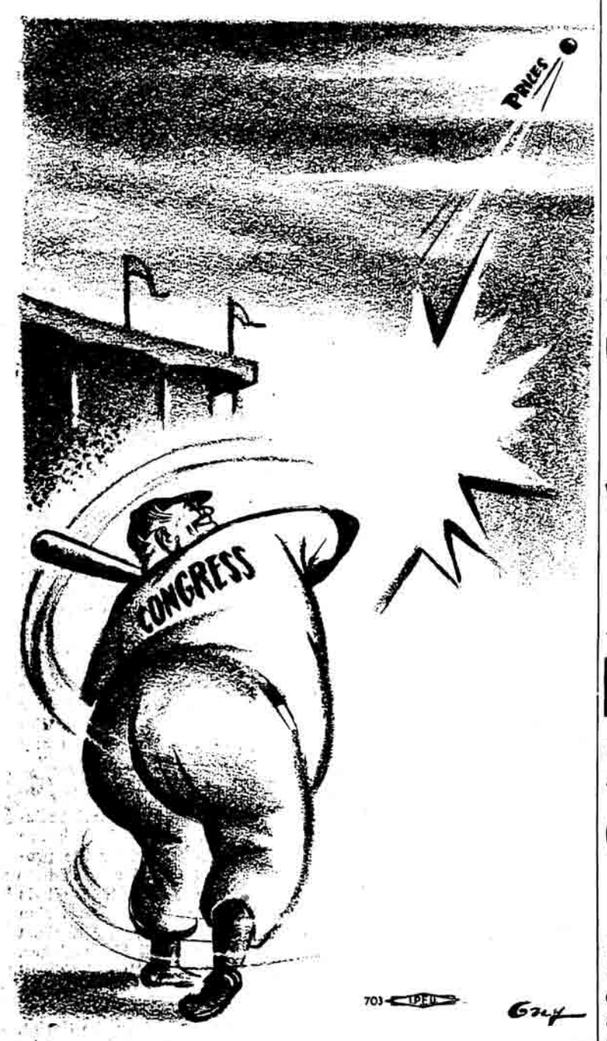
Home Run for Big Business



Truman Stalls Truce Talks, Wants to Keep GIs in Korea

Police, Govt. Share Guilt in Cicero Atrocity

By Albert Parker

The Cicero riot is not the kind of thing they tell about in civics classes. But they ought to. Because it illustrates the role of the state and the forces of "law and order" in capitalist society better than a hundred textbooks or lectures.

The chief instigators of the Cicero riot are well known. They are the real estate interests, protecting the stake they have in keeping it a lily-white town; the fascistic groups like the White Circle League, whose stock in trade is race prejudice and Ku Klux incitement to violence against minority groups; and the capitalist politicians, who in Cicero happen to be the agents and protectors of the old Capone mob.

By themselves, the fascist hoodlums could never have carried through the explosive five-day orgy of race hatred and terror. They needed the toleration, sympathy and active connivance of "the law" — and they got it. That is the important thing about the Cicero story, just as it was about the Peekskill story.

POLICE VIOLENCE

In fact, the first violence in the affair was committed not by the hoodlums, but by Cicero Police Chief Ervin Konovsky. When Harvey E. Clark Jr. tried last month to enter the apartment he had rented, it was Konovsky who personally attacked Clark and his lawyer, beat and kicked them, menaced them with firearms, and warned them to get out of Cicero and stay out if they wanted to remain alive.

What better model could the White Circle League gang have? What could help them more in recruiting a racist mob than the example of their chief of police?

After a federal court had issued an order sharply critizing the Cicero authorities and ordering them to protect Clark and his property, the Negro veteran moved in his furniture on July 10. The next night a mob of hoodlums attacked the building and wrecked Clark's apartment.

Thirty Cicero cops were present. They laughed at the mob's activities, and made no move to arrest anyone.

When striking workers refuse to obey a court order aimed at breaking their strike, they are

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For Full Details on Cicero Riot See Page 4

Victims of Jim Crow Mob

Harvey Clark and his wife, occupants of an apartment at 6139 W. 19th St., Cicero, Ill., who for three days were targets of Jim crow mobsters. Harvey is a transport worker. He graduated college and is a war veteran. The couple have two little children. Forced to move out of their apartment during the assaults, the Clarkes have announced they intend to return to their home. (Courtesy Chicago Defender)

Black-Out on News Imposed As Generals Bar Discussion Of Withdrawing All Troops

Who is playing tricks, laying traps, imposing a news blackout, stalling and maneuvering over the cease-fire in Korea? "It is the Chinese and the North Koreans," screams the giant propaganda machine in Washington and Tokyo; and the entire capitalist press here at home picks this up and plays every conceivable variation on the theme. But the American people should not place any trust and confidenee whatsoever in the Truman administration and the Pentagon generals. From all indications they are determined to blow up the truce negotiations rather than even discuss the withdrawal of U.S. armed forces from the war-shattered peninsula.

It is absolutely clear now that the demand for a "free press" over which the negotiations were broken off only a few days ago was nothing but a cynical ruse. So rigid is the news censorship that the American people are permitted to know little or nothing about what is actually going on at the Kaesong talks. The reporters are "guessing" or trying "to read between the lines of official communiques to get grounds even for a guess," cabled Bert Andrews, Tokyo correspondent of the **N. Y. Herald Tribune.**

By piecing out the details it turns out that the main hitches in the negotiations have occurred over the immediate cessation of fighting and the withdrawal "within the shortest possible time" of all foreign troops from Korea territory, as proposed by the North Koreans and the Chinese.

Why should anyone desiring to really achieve a truce seek to prolong indefinitely the shooting and the killing? Why should the Washington negotiators flatly refuse to discuss the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, unless the real intention is to keep U.S. troops there?

The **N. Y. Herald-Tribune's** Washington correspondent reports July 18, that the official Truman position is: **"We are not going to yield to the demand for withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea. You can depend on that. We will not agree to put it on the agenda. That's final — positively."**

The American people, in their vast majority, want the GI's brought back home. Consistent reports from the battlefronts confirm that the troops themselves do not want to stay. The Korean people, South and Northa like, would welcome nothing more than the withdrawal of foreign armies from their native soil. But all this is ignored and flouted by the capitalist rulers of this country, their politicians and their militarists.

While in their overall strategic plan for the general war, Europe takes precedence — as witness the flow of Amrican troops and arms to the European continent, the open wooing of fascist Franco and the like — they have not the slightest intention of getting out of Asia. On the contrary, their plan is to get in deeper and deeper as the opportunity affords. Their announced treaty with Japan sanctifies U.S. bases and deployment of armed forces.

U.S. warships and planes hold Formosa while the "independent" Philippines are regarded as another "vital" military base. American arms, loans and military missions go to the French colonialists and the puppet ex-Emperor Bao-Dai in Indo-China just as they keep flowing to the corrupt and brutal clique of Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa. They are refusing to discuss withdrawal from Korea because they are determined to stay in Asia.

War Is Unpopular, U.S. News Admits

Here's one of the reasons why Washington wants a cease-fire, according to the July 20 U.S. News and World Report:

"Political pressure also is a consideration. War is unpopular. President Truman and party leaders do not want to go into an election campaign with a limited war still dragging on.

Rousing Banquet Greets Winners Of Sub Campaign

"Hail to the Militant Champions!" These words, inscribed on a large banner across the front of Oscar Coover Memorial Hall, expressed the rousing spirit of the banquet held July 15 at Mountain Spring Camp to honor the winners in **The Militant's** recent Big League Circulation and sales Campaign.

When James P. Cannon, National Secretary of the Socialist Workers Party and founder of **The Militant** in 1928, presented **Paul** of the **Twin Cities** to the crowded hall as the main guest of honor, a ringing ovation greeted the national champion.

Paul responded by revealing his "secret" of getting subscriptions. "It just takes consistent, day-to-day work to sell America's revolutionary socialist paper."

Then he congratulated the writers whose articles make it necessary "just to show **The Militant**" to sell it; and he awarded a cigar to "champion writer J.P.C."

When the applause ended, Paul said that selling **The Militant** was not exactly new to him. "As a matter of fact, I've had some 14 years experience." At the beginning of the campaign, "we didn't know how many we could get. But the enthusiastic response we received from the workers of the Twin Cities soon scuttled any doubts as to our success."

He paid tribute to the members of the Socialist Workers Party whose devotion to the cause of socialism made it possible to bring **The Militant** to thousands of new readers during the campaign. Such work has lasting results. "The most fruitful area for sales is in shops and plants where the workers have come to know **The Militant** and members of the party over a space of years. For example, in the railroad yards they still remember Karl Skoglund from the 1922 strike."

He recalled the experience of previous **Militant** subscription campaigns. "The 25-cent sub drive of a few years ago gave many of us the necessary experience. We learned that such drives gain recruits for the party. The last convention took cognizance of this and decided to put circulation of socialist literature at the top of the agenda. We went

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Ford Local 600 Gives $500 for Kutcher Case

The General Council of Ford Local 600 UAW-CIO, largest union local in the world, unanimously voted at its July 8 meeting to support the legless veteran James Kutcher in his dramatic fight against the government loyalty purge under which he was fired from his job in the Veterans Administration. The Ford workers showed the seriousness of their support by contributing $500 to aid Kutcher in appealing his dismissal to the higher Federal courts and challenging the legality of the undemocratic loyalty program.

Local 600 took this action in response to the recommendation submitted on Kutcher's case by its Fair Practices and Political Action Departments. Their joint report pointed out that "in view of recent Supreme Court decisions and in view of an additional Executive Order in April 28, 1951, making 'reasonable doubt' of loyalty enough basis for discharge, the Kutcher case has become even more decisive in the fight for civil liberties."

AFFECTS ENTIRE LABOR MOVEMENT

The concluding section of the report highlights the significance of the precedent set by Kutcher's persecution for the rights of the entire labor movement. "This case also directly affects the labor movement. The procedure established by Executive Order 9835 is being applied to all industries which have defense contracts. This applies not only to Ford, but to increasingly large segments of American industry as a whole.

"It has already been put into effect in the Westinghouse Plant in Philadelphia and in the Bell Buffalo Plant where firings took place in which the union was helpless.

"Now it is reported that a section of the House Un-American Activities Committee is about to investigate, among others, the Detroit industrial area.

RECOGNIZE THREAT

"We recognize this move for what it is — a thinly-disguised union-busting maneuver. We do not propose to stand idly by while the anti-labor and anti-democratic forces in this country have a field day at our expense.

"We are proposing that this General Council go on record recommending both moral and substantial financial aid in the Kutcher case in its coming fight before the United States Supreme Court."

Many of the Ford Local's leaders and workers who have themselves been subjected to vicious red-baiting and hounding for their beliefs recall vividly the legless veteran's appearance before their units during his visit to Detroit a year and a half ago.

British 'Depressed'

British ruling circles are reported to be "depressed" over the reaction throughout the Middle East over Iran's nationalization of the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. Other Middle East countries are now looking forward to the fruits that can be gained through similar action. Iraq, for example, is said to have already won an agreement to share profits on a 50-50 basis with the Iraqi Petroleum company.

This Is the Kind of Foreign Policy The American People Really Want

1. **Stop the war now. Don't let it spread!**
2. **Withdraw all American troops from Korea!**
3. **Recognize the government of New China!**
4. **Let the American people vote on the issue of war and peace in a national referendum!**

Denial of Bail to C. P. Sets Sinister Precedent

With the brutal arrogance of swastika-wearing frame-up artists, the procesutor and judge in the case of the 17 recently-indicted Communist Party leaders moved last week to railroad them to jail.

The administration, trying to intimidate all critics and opponents as it moves toward a police state, has chosen to prosecute the Communist Party first because of its extreme unpopularity with the working people. The C. P. has so often betrayed the interests of the workers that it is almost universally despised.

But the precedents being established in this case will be used against other organizations. The unsavory Stalinists are the victims today. Tomorrow it can be anyone. Labor, liberal and Negro groups should raise a mighty protest right now if we are to prevent the complete destruction of all our traditional rights to bail and legal defense.

The government has revoked, as "tainted," all bail offered by the Civil Rights Congress, although bank officials have assured the government that the cash and bonds put up by this organization are its property. The prosecutor and judge have subjected all persons who came forward with bail offers to a brutal inquisition.

Although bail offers have been made in cash by friends and relatives of the defendants, in most cases the bail has been refused because the bail offerers would not name the owners of the cash. As those who offered the cash bail explained, they could not provide names, since in most cases the cash had been put up by people who asked that their names be withheld. Disclosure of their names in court means almost certain loss of jobs and other hardships under present witch-hunting conditions.

Thus, with respect to bail, the defendants are in the following position: Commercial bail agencies refuse to stand bail for persons indicted under the Smith "Gag" Act. The Civil Rights Congress has offered bail in cash, but this will not be accepted by the court. Personal cash bail will not be accepted unless those offering the bail furnish exact details as to where the money originally came from.

Thus, the Eighth Amendment to the constitution, which prohibits the holding of persons without bail or in excessive bail, is being flagrantly violated.

These court rulings are absolutely without precedent in a Federal Court. Bail has been accepted from pimps, racketeers, gamblers, crooked politicians, burglars, swindlers and thieves of all sorts without any such restrictions.

The 17 defendants are at present being defended by two court appointed attorneys, both of whom are violently clamoring to be relieved by the court. They say they "have been subjected to disparagement, to abuse which neither of us has previously encountered from any other adversary." They say that they are risking "their professional and economic standing." One of the attorneys said that he lost a 10-year retainer when his association with the case became known.

The defense reports that in the whole eastern portion of the country it has been unable to find competent lawyers who are willing to take the case. One lawyer, a former State Supreme Court Justice, said that the indictment is so flimsy, that any Federal judge would dismiss it. He refused to take the case, however, on the pretext that the defendants wanted him and his prestige to insure that the indictment would be dismissed.

Congress, Big Business Scuttle Controls

Congress is scuttling even the highly inadequate price controls proposed by the Truman administration which would have left prices far above the pre-Korea levels. The legislation thus far passed by both the House and the Senate sanctions virtually unlimited price gouging. The only thing that remains frozen, as everyone knows — is wages.

Both the administration and the press are trying to pin the blame for this vicious legislation on the so-called "farm bloc" — the cattle, cotton and big farm interests. Unquestionably, the agricultural monopolists, backed by the packers, the grain and food speculators etc., have played their sordid part. But they are by no means alone, nor even the decisive factor.

The suppliers of building materials stand to benefit by what Congress has done to the tune of a billion dollars a year. The rent hogs and the real estate sharks, the banks and insurance companies behind them, will reap as big a harvest. **The biggest beneficiaries of all are the munitions makers.**

It is estimated that in a single year since Korea they have hiked the prices of armaments by as much as 20 billion dollars. Not only are they now safeguarded against any possible "roll-backs," but they will be able to add from four to five billion dollars a year more to the outrageously inflated prices they already extort.

BIG BUSINESS GAINS

And it is the biggest industrial giants from the Steel Trust and General Motors on down the line who hold the bulk of the war contracts. Thus, behind the Congressional onslaught on controls are the ruling capitalist circles and not some special groups alone.

Organized labor and the mass of the people generally find themselves today in much the same position as following the end of World War II when the profiteers seized the very first opportunity to gouge and then to keep on gouging.

And again, organized labor, and the mass of the people generally, find themselves helpless. Congress paid not the slightest attention to the threat of the official labor leaders that they "will not and cannot" accept a wage freeze, while price curbs are converted into a farce.

The threat is a hollow one because labor has been left by its leaders without an effective policy. The policy of collaborating with the Truman administration, the various governmental boards and so on, ties labor hand and foot and leaves labor defenseless each time the corporations decide to move through their political agencies in Washington. This has happened so many times that it should be obvious by now that the road of independence from all government agencies is the only practical road.

The whole picture in this country would alter drastically if labor, instead of resorting to empty threats, leaped to action. The first step is to break once and for all with the disastrous and fatal policy of collaborating with labor's mortal enemies. Let the unions get out and stay out of all government boards!

ORGANIZE COMMITTEES

It is necessary to realize in life the splendid proposal made last February by the United Labor Policy Committee to organize mass consumers committees to police prices and to keep them down. We repeat: **that only the housewives, unionists and low income groups themselves can be entrusted with enforcing price controls.**

Once such committees are organized in the localities and then united on a nation-wide scale, there will then exist a power that can and will really cope with the profiteers.

We suggested last week that a congress of consumers committees, led by labor, could be convened. It could parade on Washington and demand from Congress legal power to enforce fair prices and prevent profiteering. This is by no means a visionary proposal.

The mighty legions of organized labor have it within their power to accomplish this and far more. The official union leadership know it, but they fear to organize such a vast mass movement. It is up to the ranks in the local unions to take the initiative in sponsoring such a program of action.

Notebook of an Agitator

BACK IN THE PACKING HOUSE

At hog-killing time in the frosty fall down on the farm, the neighbors gathered from miles around to help in the cooperative labor of converting the live animal into food for humans. Plump hams and lean-streaked slabs of bacon were made ready for the smoke house. Thick sections of flabby fat back were salted down in stout oaken barrels against the time when they would finally come to rest in a simmering pot on a bed of dandelion greens; the two ingredients slowly melting and merging in a liquor of delectable flavor elsewhere unknown this side of paradise. Fresh pork chops, loin roasts and succulent spareribs were chopped out of the carcass for immediate consumption, all hands present getting a crack at them in a big feast on the spot, and a bundle to take home; while the various odds and ends were ground up for head cheese and sausage. But with all that utilization of diverse parts quite a bit of the butchered pig was wasted and thrown away.

I was never down on the farm, and this account of amateur hog-butchering there is based on hearsay and imagination. However, I did work in a big Kansas City packing house when I was a boy — two of them, in fact, Swift's and Armour's. Part of the time I worked on the "hog beds," as they were called, and I remember the process pretty well. It was not a job for the finical — I can tell you that from experience; but it was supremely economical and efficient. There was no waste. They made use of all parts of what once had been a pig, even the bristles, tails and snouts; everything, as they used to say, except the squeal.

FLY IN THE OINTMENT

I was thinking of this long-gone experience on a tired Friday afternoon last week when I finally got through with the last of eight chapters of a pamphlet on the peace campaign of the Stalinists, now running as a separate series on another page of this paper. I finished the messy and most distasteful task which had been assigned to me with a feeling of relief and satisfaction. But there was a fly in my ointment, or maybe it was a cinder in my eye. Anyhow, I knew there was something amiss. I had to admit to myself, as an old packing house man, that in confining the pamphlet to the limited theme of the peace campaign, I hadn't been able to use all the stuff I started out to work on. The left-over notes and reference material were piled all over my desk and I didn't know what to do with them. Of course, I might have thrown them away. But then, again, I might have done that with the whole litter of unwholesome reports and speeches in the first place and come out with cleaner hands and a more agreeable smell in my nostrils.

I hadn't done that. I had finished the main job, but there they were — the left-overs. And while my hands were still soiled with the muck and filth of the material I had been working on, I was confronted with a problem. Should I clean up and report the assignment finished, or should I go back to work and process the remnants? I solved the problem once, but lapsing into the habit of lackadaisical people who don't know their own minds, I didn't solve it for good and had to come back to it. Instead of throwing all the left-over material into the waste basket and forgetting about it, I just dumped it into a drawer and went off for a weekend in the fresh clean country among friends and comrades to match. But I kept thinking of the ugly odds and ends I had left behind.

A MAN OR A MOUSE?

Conscience, that pestiferous little monster, kept at me with deprecating looks and nagging reminders. "You didn't finish your duty," said the intolerant and uncompromising imp from Satan's domain. "What about Gus Hall's summary speech, with all the repulsive characteristics of a Stalinist functionary sticking out of his answer to a delegate who had ventured to express an opinion? There is an education in the democratic process and the true function of leadership in a dissection of that episode alone. And what about Betty Gannett's 'ideological report' with its unconscious exemplification of what Stalinist ideology really is, and other revealing aspects of the convention proceedings? Are you going to let all that pass and scamp your task now, while you have all the material before you in one mass for the first time in years? Are you a bolshevik who does a thorough job when it is assigned to him, or a weak-willed menshevik who does his work as he does everything else — halfway, because that is his nature? In other words, are you a man or a mouse? Think it over." So spoke the voice of conscience.

Well, I thought it over and here I am on Monday morning back in the packing house again. I am sorting out the oozy remnants and scraps of material left over from my pamphlet on the Stalinist peace campaign, resolved to use them, too, in some kind of by-products of the main enterprise before I finally finish up the lousy job for good and go fishing.

One of the left-overs is Betty Gannett's report on "ideology." There is a lot more of the real ideology of Stalinism in this report than she knew. We'll take a look at it next week.

— J. P. C.

(Next Week: The Art of Lying)

Second International Reconstituted To Aid in Drive Toward New War

By Murry Weiss

An important move in the drive for a Third World War headed by American imperialism was carried out at Frankfort, Germany, at a world conference of reformist socialist parties which met from June 30 to July 3. At this conference the reconstitution of the world organization of traitors to socialism, the Second International, was proclaimed.

The Manifesto of the Frankfort Conference declared that "delegates from 34 Socialist and Labor Parties throughout the world," represented "ten million members and 44 million voters." Although many of these parties have lost their working class base and have become predominantly middle class in membership and voting support, there is no doubt that an important section of the international working class adheres to the parties gathered at this conference.

A number of the parties at the conference constitute the bulk of the organized working class of their countries. Such are the British and Norwegian Labor Parties. Some of them hold power in their capitalist governments and others have ministerial and cabinet posts in the governments. Outside the mass Stalinist Parties, the Frankfort conference was representative of the chief political parties of the working class.

The Socialist Party of the United States was the smallest party at the conference. This party, while sharing every bit of the treachery of the European "socialist" leaders and going along step by step in their program of trying to line up the workers for the support of the imperialist war, is not in position to wield large blocs of votes or membership as a contribution to the "defense of the free world" — imperialist jargon for Third World War preparations.

Thus, the American labor bureaucrats were not directly represented at the Frankfort conference. The reason for this is quite instructive. It is not that the Murrays, Greens and Reuthers are not carrying out the same general line as the European "socialists." They too are an essential part of the capitalist apparatus of war preparations; they have proven this not only in World War II but more recently in their all-out support for the imperialist invasion of Korea. The difference lies in the fact that the European and Asian working classes detest capitalism and have in every way shown their keen desire to fight for a socialist society. **It is impossible for the European and Asian labor bureaucrats to conduct the drive to line up the working class behind the Western imperialist bloc without covering it with socialist phrases.**

The conference at Frankfort accomplished its main purpose by: (1.) Favoring the capitalist rearmament program as the top priority job of "the free democratic countries." (2.) Giving complete support to the United Nations' imperialist war against Korea. (3.) Adopting a declaration of principles which designates Communism as the main danger. (The **N. Y. Times** characterized this declaration as "a common denominator curiously compounded to satisfy all the shades of Marxist and non-Marxist Socialists.")

LOOPHOLE CLAUSE

The German delegation held out for a loophole clause which was added to the resolution on rearmament, stating that "countries which do not enjoy equality of rights cannot be expected to share fully in defense."

The German Social Democrats are concerned with the jockeying of their own capitalist class for something better than the position of complete vassal to American imperialism. But they are also constrained by the tremendous hostility the German working class displays towards Washington's war drive. At a mass meeting of 10,000 Frankfort workers, addressed by the conference bigwigs, the **Times** reports that the audience **"gave a cool reception to the minority of the orators from foreign Socialist parties who hinted that the Western world should rearm to prevent aggressions."**

The Japanese delegation abstained on the vote for the rearmament resolution, expressing the fear that placing rearmament as the top priority task will not be accompanied by "equality of sacrifice." A highly significant symptom. Undoubtedly they were forced to take exception, even in this mild form, to the main resolution supporting the imperialist war plans, because of the powerful anti-imperialist sentiment that has swept across the entire area of Asia.

The **Socialist Call**, paper of the Norman Thomas Socialist Party, in its July 6 issue proclaims, "A new Socialist International was formed. . ." **We ask: What is either new or Socialist in this International?**

SAME TREACHEROUS CREW

Here is the same treacherous crew of misleaders who betrayed every socialist principle by disbanding in two successive imperialist wars in order to support their "own fatherlands." When the Russian workers overthrew their capitalists during the first world war and established a revolutionary workers government, these Second International socialists prevented the working class of Europe from following this example. **They rescued capitalism. They are directly responsible for the continued existence of this system with its wars, atom bombs, depressions and fascism.**

Their fake pretensions to a socialist program and to the great traditions of the First International of Marx and Engels, were amply refuted by the decisions of the Frankfort conference itself. The resolution and line adopted could have been dictated by any State Department functionary.

The leading party at the conference, the British Labor Party, is the Government party which conducts the imperialist oppression of colonial peoples. They are now engaged in a brutal attempt to prevent the people of Iran from nationalizing their oil industry and expropriating the British capitalists.

The character of the leadership of this "new" International is revealed by their servile attitude toward the Yankee big boss of world imperialism. Morgan Phillips, Secretary of the British Labor Party, bitterly complained at the conference that "many Socialists were still obsessed with doctrinal suspicions of United States democracy."

The **Times** quotes this approvingly — and for good reason. **They know that the workers and** toiling farmers of Europe, Asia and Africa as well as the western hemisphere, despise the arrogant, profit-mad moguls of Wall St. But here, Morgan Phillips, whom the **Times** holds to be a genuine "socialist," tells them not to be suspicious. Surely then, according to the reasoning of the **Times**, American imperialist "democracy" is above reproach.

The interests of the world working class were not represented in Frankfort. Not any more than the interests of the American working class are represented at an AFL or CIO Executive Board meeting. The reconstituted Second International and its program bring sharply to the fore the unpostponable task of rearming the working class of the world with its own revolutionary leadership, program and organization.

This work, which was begun by Lenin after the collapse of the Second International in 1914 and continued by Trotsky after the Stalinist degeneration of the Third International, is today conducted under the banner of the Fourth International in all parts of the world and by the Socialist Workers Party in the United States.

See Profound Clash of Interests Between Peiping and the Kremlin

By George Breitman

What is the relation between the Kremlin and the Chinese government headed by Mao Tse-tung?

This question has been given serious consideration everywhere ever since the Chinese Communist Party came to power by routing the Washington-supported Chiang Kai-shek regime. But it has become especially important since last Thanksgiving when, in response to MacArthur's drive to the Chinese-Korean border, the Chinese actively intervened in the Korean war with enough troops to push the imperialist forces back toward the 38th Parallel.

The answer of the U.S. State Department was that the Chinese government is a puppet, blindly carrying out the Soviet bureaucracy's orders in the interests of the Kremlin's "world revolutionary" objectives.

Our answer was altogether different. We branded the State Department's analysis as a lie calculated to spread hysteria and promote war preparations. We pointed out that the Chinese government, unlike the governments of Eastern Europe, had come to power under its own steam and with its own resources, and that it did not owe either its existence or its prestige to the Kremlin. We concluded that the Chinese government was an independent power, and that where it acted in concert with the Kremlin it did so as a partner, and not as a vassal.

And most strongly of all we stressed the fact that Stalin and Mao had entirely different and separate aims in Korea — that the Kremlin's main concern there "still is to exert pressure on Washington for a deal to divide the world up into sphere of influence which each camp would respect" while, on the other hand, "Mao's main consideration is to prevent the installation of a hostile power's military forces on China's border." (**Militant**, Dec. 11, 1950.)

Whose estimate was right? Well, we have not had any reason to change ours, despite the fact that the Chinese government appears to be acting in unison with the Kremlin during the current cease-fire negotiations. But the State Department, while it has not formally changed its position, has in recent weeks taken a number of steps indicating that it is being forced to abandon it, at least in part.

One of the signs indicating a shift in the State Department line was the speech made by Gen. Ridgway on the anniversary of the Korean war. Obviously prepared before Malik's cease-fire proposal was released, it deserved a lot more attention than it got.

APPEALS TO CHINESE

A major part of this speech was an appeal to the Chinese Communist Party leaders and masses. Ridgway told them that they cannot much longer "delude themselves with the idea that this so-called 'friend' (the Kremlin) has any intention of supplying arms in the quantities necessary" to drive the UN forces out of Korea, because "Such a course would build up in Communist China a military power which could effectively prevent the domination and eventual absorption of Manchuria by that 'friend and ally.'"

In addition, Ridgway explicitly conceded that what the "masses of China" are seeking is "assurance of their country's political and territorial integrity."

It may be argued that this is just smart propaganda, a clever move to drive a wedge between China and the Soviet Union. And that probably was what motivated the speech. But to do that, Ridgway had to call attention to facts — facts such as the Kremlin's refusal to supply all the arms needed by the Chinese and Koreans, such as the Kremlin's fear of a too-powerful Chinese force in the Manchuria area, such as the real aims of the Chinese in Korea. **The significant thing here is that the State Department, which OK'd Ridgway's speech, has been compelled to admit that there are important differences of aims and interests between Stalin and Mao, and that Mao is capable not only of understanding this but also of doing something about it under certain conditions.**

REFUTES FAIRY TALE

In other words, Ridgway's speech, no matter what the reason behind it was, is an annihilating refutation of the fairy tale about China's alleged "puppet relation" to the Kremlin which was invented and broadcast by the State Department for the sole purpose of obscuring China's real objective in entering the Korean war.

Similar evidence has been piling up in the press during the last month. Here we have room to take notice of only one item, a dispatch from C. L. Sulzberger, chief foreign correspondent of the **N.Y. Times**, printed on July 9. Sulzberger was in contact with "a Western diplomat" who left Shanghai only a few weeks ago and who claims that the report he gathered on conditions in China today "was confirmed to him from governmental sources" in China.

According to this diplomat, "the West fails to realize sufficiently how popular the Mao government was in China from the very start." The government is pictured as having done a good job in solving the basic food problem, stabilizing currency and prices, increasing production, wiping out corruption, etc. Its chief strength is still in the northern part of the country, and it is represented as eager to get done with the war in Korea in order to be able to concentrate, among other things, on winning firmer control in the south. "Generalissimo Chiang no longer has any vestiges of popular support."

RESENT BOASTS

The members of the Soviet missions scattered around China are not much respected by the people. "The Chinese are said to resent their boasts that all is wonderful in the Soviet Union and simultaneously watch them buy up all available watches, shoes, furs and clothing." "Thoughtful Chinese are described as feeling that the Korean war was provoked by the Soviet, but that the catastrophe must be borne by the Chinese."

The diplomat believes that "friction — which has been known to exist in the past — has again risen between the two dominant factions of the Chinese Communist Party. One strong group, headed by Mr. Mao, can essentially be described as favoring a National and Chinese policy.

"Another segment of opinion, headed by Liu Shao-chi and including Li Li-san, is described as representing the 'fanatical theorists' and 'intellectuals.' It is growing in importance and is now considered as more 'pro-Soviet than the Mao faction."

This factor too is represented as a possible reason for Mao's interest in concluding a truce in Korea. If it is, it certainly has nothing in common with the reasons of the Kremlin.

None of this sounds much like the picture of China painted by the State Department since last Thanksgiving. **But it is in accord with the reality — that the Chinese government is an independent power — which even the State Department is now beginning to have to accept.** The American workers will have to accept it too before they will be able to overcome the imperialist plot against the interests of both the Asian and American masses.

Await Armistice Talks

Two North Korean officers, Col. Chang and Col. Kim, and a Chinese officer, Lt. Col. Chai, await arrival of U.S. and United Nations representatives at cease-fire parley in Kaesong. The American Brass Hats are stalling the negotiations, refusing to discuss the demand all troops be withdrawn. At home the Truman administration has said it intends to keep the GIs in Korea indefinitely.

KOREAN PEOPLE BITTER OVER THEIR 'LIBERATION'

By Fred Hart

As more and more news begins trickling in from Korea as a result of the slight relaxation of military censorship in connection with the resumption of "cease-fire" negotiations, it is becoming increasingly evident that the Korean people, both in the South and North, are filled with bitterness and hatred over the wholesale destruction that has turned their country into little more than a vast cemetery.

They've had their fill of "liberation." They want the war to stop and they are not particularly concerned whether the Communists come to power. This news was cautiously relayed from Tokyo by R. P. Martin, correspondent of the New York Daily **Compass**, in the following words:

"If a Gallup poll could be taken in both South and North Korea, more than likely the great majority of the people living in that unhappy land would vote for peace at almost any price. **The poll result would probably be the same even if they were certain, as many are, that once the United Nations armies are withdrawn the Communists would come to power**, either through revolution or aggression."

This annihilating admission is so universally accepted, that even the Tokyo censors permitted it to pass. Regardless of the outcome of the armistice talks and the further course of events in Korea, what we have here is an admission that the avowed claims of "liberation," of "safeguarding democracy" and the like, in the name of which Truman plunged into Korea, have met with the complete rejection of the Korean people as a whole. For American imperialism this is a political defeat of an incalculable magnitude.

The specter of Korea will accompany henceforth all of Washington's moves in Asia.

The discredited and corrupt Syngman Rhee regime is without a vestige of popular support. Through inflation, general economic mismanagement, inefficiency, corruption and bestiality, it is responsible for adding enormously to the terrible suffering of the people.

"The Rhee government," cabled Martin, "was never popular in South Korea. Recently the country has been rocked by a number of scandals and charges of incredible mismanagement. American aid supplies totalling $115,000,000 were intended to stabilize the economy; a large part of it has gone into the hands of war profiteers; the black market is a major industry and government officials participate in the profits. Police and military brutality on a large scale has been exposed."

Isn't it obvious that any regime other than that of Syngman Rhee — Truman's symbol of "democratic" Korea — would be wholeheartedly welcomed by the South Koreans? The Tokyo censors, by passing this report, unwittingly confirm its truth as well.

The Korean people are by no means the only ones with whom the war is unpopular. The American troops are sick of it. They resented the action of Washington and Ridgway in breaking off the negotiations over the alleged issue of the "free press." This was reported by the chief Far East correspondent of the **Christian Science Monitor** who cabled on July 12 the following from Munsan, South Korea:

"For the soldiers at the front . . . **this UN stand may seem extreme. Some men with whom I have talked expressed the opinion that the press ought not to run the war. Many doubtless would prefer to have a cease-fire meeting continue — if necessary without Allied press representation — rather than risk a breakdown.**"

The American troops are apparently no less anxious to get out of Korea than the Korean people are to see them leave.

CEASE-FIRE FAVORED BY EUROPEANS; CAPITALISTS FEAR MASS PRESSURE

By Charles Hanley

When the perspective of a Korean truce appeared with Jacob Malik's radio speech, Wall Street reacted unfavorably. Shares dropped and the Hearst and Scripps-Howard press warned that the danger of "a new Munich" existed and that it would be foolish to trust "the Reds."

Washington, however, could not afford to ignore Malik's armistice suggestion. The State Department knew how its European allies feel about a cease-fire. If Truman and Acheson had rejected the possibility of ending the Korean war now, American imperialism would have had to "go it alone." But diplomatic isolation is precisely what they want to avoid.

UN Secretary Trygve Lie jumped at Malik's offer. So did the governments of Western Europe.

The European Social-Democratic parties supported UN intervention in Korea, but openly opposed MacArthur's policy of provocation. For some time, they have considered an armistice to be over-due. The reformist leaders take into account the unpopularity of the Korean adventure and would like to see it liquidated by a compromise.

"For several months already," wrote the **Daily Herald**, organ of the British Labor Party, "the British government has stressed (the necessity of) the diplomatic move now proposed by Mr. Malik."

Relief about greater chances for a peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict is not limited to the labor movement. Even the conservative capitalists of Western Europe are in favor of ending the Far Eastern War.

AFRAID OF WAR

Their reaction to Malik's speech and the willingness of the North Koreans and Chinese to negotiate an armistice has been quite different from that of American Big Business. They are afraid of a Third World War in which they have everything to lose. They are afraid their Wall Street friends will drag them into a general catastrophe. They need aid so badly that they cannot break away, therefore they desperately try to put the brakes on American imperialism by friendly pressure.

Le Soir, Belgium's leading capitalist paper says: "A happy ending of the sad Korean conflict would permit he big powers to engage with greater confidence in the discussion of generalized peace, with Japan first, and then in Europe."

"Generalized peace" to the European peoples also spells the reduction of armaments, the hope that this burden on European economy may soon be eased. But even the end of the Korean war will not eradicate world tension and the armaments race.

American capitalism cannot hope to avoid an economic crisis in the U.S. without continued preparations for the conquest of markets. In this war drive it will hardly allow its European satellites to relax. Diplomatic compromises cannot stop it. Only an upsurge of the masses can secure peace — genuine peace everywhere.

Captain Gets Lesson

At Kaesong, a U.S. Army captain with a movie camera ordered a Chinese photographer to hold up his camera so he could photograph him with it. He called the Chinese "boy-san" a derogatory term used by white imperialists in the Far East.

The Chinese photographer responded by shoving his camera directly in front of the captain's lens. Then he walked angrily away.

The Census Bureau estimates that in the next ten years the population of this country will increase at the rate of 2½ million a year, because marriage and birth rates keep climbing rapidly while the death rate stays relatively low. Such an increase would be double the rate of the last ten years, and would result in a population of close to '180 million by 1960.

Local Addresses Of Socialist Workers Party

AKRON—For information, write P. O. Box 1342.
BOSTON—Workers Educational Center, 30 Stuart St. Open Tues., 5:30-9 P.M. Social last Sat. of every month.
BUFFALO—Militant Forum, 629 Main Street, 2nd fl. Open every afternoon except Sun. Phone MAdison 3-960.
CHICAGO—734 S. Wabash Ave. Open daily except Sunday, 12-6:00 PM. Phone HArrison 7-0403.
CLEVELAND — Croation Home, 6314 St. Clair, every Sun., 9 P.M.
DETROIT—6108 Linwood Ave. Open Mon. through Sat., 12-5 P.M. Phone TY 7-6207.
FLINT—SWP, 1507 Oak Street. Phone 22496.
LOS ANGELES — 1702 East 4th St. Phone ANgelus 9-4953.
MILWAUKEE—917 N. 3rd St., 3rd fl. Open Sun. through Fri., 7:30-9:30 P.M.
MINNEAPOLIS—10 South 4th St. Open daily except Sun. 10 A.M.-6 P.M. Library, bookstore. Phone Main 7781.
NEW HAVEN—For information, write P.O. Box 1019.
NEWARK—423 Springfield Avenue.
NEW YORK CITY—Hq.: 116 University Place. Phone: AL 5-7852.
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HARLEM—103 W. 110th St. Rm 23. Open discussion, every Thurs., 8 P.M.
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Floods and the Power Trust

At first sight, the Missouri flood which has already inflicted more than one billion dollars damage appears to be a natural disaster. However, one significant fact attracts attention: This is the "worst" flood the Missouri river basin has experienced since the pioneers settled there a century ago. And in recent years there have been other floods, some of them the "worst" up to that time.

In addition, droughts in this vast area of America have strangely become worse over the years, paralleling the damage of floods.

What we are witnessing is the gradual conversion of the fertile prairie and upland country into deserts. This process was started by the unbridled denudation of forests by the robber barons and the unrestricted plowing up of the grasslands over which the buffalo once roamed. Instead of holding the rains and snows, the stripped soil permits the water to run off in floods.

Unless big-scale measures are taken in the near future, the process will speed up. So vast is the undertaking, that capitalism is incapable of carrying out a full-scale conservation program. However, certain stop-gap measures could be taken. Key dams could do much to halt the floods.

Why hasn't the government built these dams? The answer is the opposition of the power monopoly. They don't want dams erected because they can become a major source of cheap electric power. From the viewpoint of these greedy monopolists, the competition of government-produced electricity is intolerable.

They are not too alarmed about customers being taken away, since the government does not duplicate their lines. But they are alarmed and outraged at what government power production reveals — how cheaply electricity can be produced and therefore how unjustified their rates are.

For this reason, the power trust maintains one of the strongest lobbies in Washington, besides the Senators and Representatives they make sure get into Congress. Purcell L. Smith, president of the National Association of Electric Companies, highest-paid lobbyist in Washington, gets $65,000 a year, more than four times the pay of a Senator.

Three key projects, the $71 million Tuttle Creek Dam, the $22 million Millford Dam and the $22 million Perry Dam alone could have softened the present disaster. But the power monopoly managed to block them, even though one was actually authorized.

The flood now rolling down the Missouri and Mississippi rivers means disaster to millions of Americans. To the power interests, however, it is a measure of their success in controlling Congress. That's the way the capitalist system works.

Truman and Franco -- Allies

Despite protests by the British and French governments, Washington is preparing a military alliance with the fascist Franco regime of Spain. Admiral Forrest P. Sherman, U.S. Chief of Naval Operations, is in Madrid negotiating for Spanish air and naval bases for U.S. armed forces.

The British and French protests are based on the argument that an alliance with the butcher of the Spanish workers might discredit the North Atlantic Pact with the working people of Europe, and could even jeopardize the whole imperialist alliance by raising mass opposition to a great pitch. They fear they will not be able to convince the peoples of their own countries to go along with such an outrage.

A pact with fascist Spain would be in line with the efforts of Washington to revive every possible reactionary force in the world to try to stem the great popular tide of socialism and colonial revolution. Other recent moves of this kind are the remilitarization of Germany and the proposal for a Japanese peace treaty which will give full power back to Japanese militarism.

Proposed Spanish war bases continue the efforts of American imperialism to surround the colonial peoples and the Soviet areas with an iron ring of bayonets, bombers and battleships.

However, if the Soviet high command were to attempt to arrange for even one Russian military base on either the North American or the South American continents, or even on an island 2,000 miles off the shores of these continents, this would probably mean war.

The British and French protests highlight the fact that the United States government is the extreme right wing of the imperialist bloc that is organized for aggressive war. The capitalist governments in Britain and France, having had a great deal of experience in dealing with mass radical movements, want to be a bit cautious, and to take the natural anti-fascist sentiments of the people into account. But the American imperialists blunder ahead, the most vicious, the most blindly reactionary, of the whole world.

Franco is extremely anxious to get American aid. Since the great cost-of-living demonstrations in the principal cities of Spain, his regime has been very shaky. Observers have judged that the near future may see renewed demonstrations of an anti-government character, and even the toppling of the fascist Falange regime. So that Franco seeks safety by asking American imperialism to underwrite his regime. However, Franco like Chiang Kai-shek may very well find close connections with hated American imperialism more of a liability than an asset.

Iran Seethes As Harriman "Negotiates"

W. Averell Harriman flew to Teheran last week, as a "special envoy of President Truman" to "mediate a settlement" in the Iranian oil crisis. Harriman's discussions with Premier Mossadegh took place amid increased tension. Thousands demonstrated in the streets; the capital has been placed under martial law. At least 18 persons have been killed and hundreds wounded; the police have placed hundreds of others under arrest.

Harriman's job is to dictate to the Iranian government to settle the oil "controversy" on Britain's terms, that is, to retain the nationalization law as a facade for continued British exploitation of Iranian oil on slightly better terms.

It is clear from the news dispatches that Harriman is under instructions to reinforce Britain's policy of using economic sanctions against Iran. An oil expert, accompanying Harriman, has drawn a "gloomy picture" to the Iranian authorities "of Iran's chances for competing as an independent marketer of oil."

This expert has informed Premier Mossadegh that Iran produces so "little" of the world's output — about 6 percent — that "the loss could readily be made up by increasing production of oil fields elsewhere. . . . A similar warning had been sounded many times to the Iranians by the British," reports Homer Bigart, **N. Y. Herald-Tribune's** star correspondent.

These "warnings," more accurately, open threats, to drive Iranian oil out of the world markets, have thus far failed to produce the desired effects. "Mr. Harriman has come up against a blank wall, with no apparent crack of Iranian determination that any settlement . . . must come within the framework of nationalization laws," cabled Bigart on July 12.

Why this impasse? Because the Iranian people will not accept any other settlement. The correspondent of the **Christian Science Monitor** quotes "a high ranking (Iranian) government official" as saying:

"It has become so difficult to tell the world in plain language that what has driven us to nationalize our oil is fear that a continuing exploitation by an unappreciative oil company might enable communism to engulf us. **It is frustrating, he complained, "to be so misjudged by those who should sympathize with us."**

The corrupt and bankrupt ruling classes of Iran cling desperately to nationalization as their only chance of survival. The British imperialists, backed 100 percent by Washington, want to keep intact their monopoly of oil regardless of the fear of the Iranian capitalists and landlords, or the wishes of the Iranian people. This is the crux of the "misjudgement" and the key to the "frustration" and the existing impasse.

The entire course of the British and their American backers is creating a "rapidly deteriorating" situation, all capitalist dispatches from Iran agree.

The Stalinist Peace Program -- VI

The Results of Teheran-Yalta Agreement

By James P. Cannon

We have already seen how the American Stalinists reacted to Stalin's deal with Roosevelt and Churchill with the offer "to cooperate in making this capitalism work effectively in the postwar period." The Stalinist parties throughout the capitalist world, under Moscow control, responded in the same way and bent all their efforts to deliver on their assignment under the Teheran-Yalta agreement. In this world-wide counter-revolutionary operation the Soviet government itself was in the lead and set the example.

The surging revolutionary movements in Eastern Europe were crushed by the Soviet troops and the secret police apparatus which came in their train. Capitalist owners, who had been expropriated by the workers, were reinstated in possession of their factories. Bourgeois coalition governments were set up with Stalinist participation. The first victims of the Russian occupation everywhere were the revolutionary workers who had sought to seize the power which had fallen from the hands of their old exploiters.

In the revolutionary situation of the immediate postwar period in Western Europe, the Communist parties, under the direction of Moscow, wrote the blackest record in their long history of treachery to the working class, rivaling and even exceeding the monstrous betrayal of the Social-Democratic parties of the Second International in August 1914. Carrying out their designated task under the Yalta deal, the Communist parties took upon themselves the responsibility for the existing social regime, which could not stand up without them.

In both Italy and France they formed coalitions with bourgeois parties, newly rigged up for the occasion. They entered into the bourgeois cabinets as loyal parties of the coalition. They supported the bourgeois governments and took responsibility for them. They told the workers, clamoring for relief of their intolerable conditions and an end of the capitalist regime: "This is not the time." They drove the revolutionary-minded miners into the pits under the slogan; "More Production." They demagogically inveighed against strikes as "a weapon of the trusts," and denounced the escalator clause in wage contracts as a "Trotskyite scheme" to provoke inflation.

BYRNES REVEALS SECRET DEAL

The specific agreement with Churchill for the betrayal of the popular revolution in Greece has been revealed by James F. Byrnes, former U.S. Secretary of State, in his book, **Speaking Frankly.** He stated that Churchill and Eden had reached an "informal understanding that, if the British found it necessary to take military action in Greece, the Soviets would not interfere. In return, the British would recognize the right of the Soviets to take the lead in maintaining order in Rumania." When this was challenged by an anonymous British Foreign Office spokesman, Byrnes disclosed in **The New York Times** of October 18, 1947 a secret message from Prime Minister Churchill to President Roosevelt dated March 8, 1945, in which Churchill said: "In order to have the freedom to save Greece, Eden and I at Moscow in October, recognized that Russia should have a largely preponderant voice in Rumania and Bulgaria while we took the lead in Greece. Stalin adhered very strictly to this understanding during the thirty days' fighting against the Communists and Elas in the city of Athens."

Here we have the explanation in black and white of why Churchill at the time of the British military intervention in Greece denounced the popular uprising as "Trotskyist" and confidently declared that they did not have the support of Stalin. If anybody wants to know how the Monarcho-Fascist dictatorship was fastened on the unhappy Greek people against the will of the overwhelming majority, the revelation of James F. Byrnes gives the answer. The deal was made in Moscow.

STALIN DID HIS PART

Even in China and Yugoslavia, where the Communist parties had conducted their own struggle during the war and gained a measure of independence, compromising agreements were entered into with the bourgeois parties, or offered to them. Since their split with Moscow, the leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party have revealed that the deal whereby they set up a coalition government with bourgeois parties after the war was made under Moscow pressure.

Even in China, it was already known and is now confirmed by General Marshall in his testimony before the Senate Arms Services and Foreign Relations Committees on May 8 — the Stalinists agreed to enter a coalition government with Chiang Kai-shek in 1946 under conditions assuring Chiang Kai-shek a majority with personal veto power. If this deal fell through, and if the upshot in China was a mighty revolution which swept Chiang Kai-shek out of power and out of the country and brought the Stalinists into full control — it was due to the stupidity and obstinacy of Chiang Kai-shek in rejecting the handsome deal offered him, as Marshall has revealed, and wasn't the fault of the Stalinists. They didn't plan it that way. Another power so often left out of account in diplomatic deals — in this case the revolutionary masses of the Chinese peasantry — intervened and upset a balance of world power that can never be restored.

WASHINGTON BROKE DEAL

The break-up of the agreement of Teheran and Yalta to "work together in the war and in the peace that will follow" cannot be rightfully ascribed to the Kremlin bureaucrats and the Communist parties they control and direct. They fulfilled all their commitments — and then some. It was the Western imperialists, and in the first place, the Americans, who discovered that the world social system they had become responsible to maintain could no longer operate and prosper with the Soviet Union, plus Eastern Europe and now China, outside its orbit of normal capitalist trade and investment, and the colonial countries on fire everywhere. They require and must have at any cost bigger markets for the sale of surplus goods and the investment of surplus capital under stable political conditions guaranteeing the investments. All that Stalin offered and delivered, all that he promised to do and did, was not enough. Washington broke the agreement. Washington is the aggressor.

The promulgation of the Truman Doctrine and the beginning of the rearmament program was a graphic and unmistakable announcement of intention to rewrite the Teheran-Yalta agreement with the sword. The Marshall Plan was designed to force the Eastern European countries back into the Western orbit by economic pressure and sanctions. This confronted the Kremlin with the ineluctable alternative of retreating to the pre-1939 borders, and then to keep on retreating until there was no place to go — or of taking counter measures in the buffer countries.

FORCED TO NATIONALIZE

These states could not stand up against the Marshall Plan on a capitalist basis, with a feeble and bankrupt native capitalist class, having no capital to invest in productive enterprises, and foreign investment capital embargoed by America. The Stalinists were forced into their program of nationalization in these countries as the condition for the survival and development of their productive apparatus. If they were able to establish a political monopoly of control to enforce these measures, and if the whole business of expropriating the native bourgeoisie economically and politically could be done by bureaucratic manipulation and police action — this is only a striking demonstration of how weak, how unviable, were the capitalist regimes in these countries which the Stalinists had hitherto propped up.

If the capitalist system of production was destroyed in this process, the primary blame — or credit, as you wish — belongs to Washington, whose initial aggressions, in violation of the spirit of the Teheran-Yalta agreement for "peaceful co-existence," set in motion the chain of events which led to this result. Giving credit where credit is due, it must be said that in this affair the primary revolutionizer of property relations in Eastern Europe was Washington, not Moscow.

GOT A GOOD BARGAIN

The United States got a good bargain for itself in Teheran and Yalta, the best it could hope to get by diplomacy. But it proved to be not enough. In breaking the agreement and starting the cold war, the unwitting revolutionists of Washington still further upset the already precarious world stability and opened up some cracks through which an unsuspected new world power intruded itself. The masses of the colonial and semi-colonial world, long waiting for their chance, broke through and changed the whole world picture and relation of forces irrevocably. The position of American imperialism is now worse than before. The catastrophe of the Korean adventure is in itself striking evidence of this.

The power-mad jingoes who had thought they could "lick the world" by force or even terrorize it into submission by threats, now feel constrained, after the Korean experience, to cool off a bit and wait and prepare better before plunging into the awful and unpredictable hazard of another world war. If this temporary chastened mood induces or forces the imperialists to return to another deal with the Kremlin on approximately the same basis as before — and this may well happen — it can only be done in recognition of their worsened position and the necessity for more thorough preparations. It will not in any case be because they have been converted to the asinine theory of "peaceful co-existence."

Washington would aim to use a new temporary agreement and truce as a springboard for far-reaching demands which correspond to its real necessities as an expanding imperialist power in a shrinking world. Those who want to face the real problem of peace must understand what these demands are and why they cannot be different. They are not the invention of any genius in the State Department, but are rather spelled out for it by the iron necessities of the economic position of the United States as the leading imperialist power in the world.

(Next Week: What Washington Wants)

Banquet Hails Sub Champions

(Continued from Page 1)

home from the convention and proceeded to get on the job by selling **Militants, the Fourth International** and other literature.

"In my shop there were already 30 men with subs and another 35 buying single copies every week. We renewed the subscriptions and sold subscriptions to those taking single copies. We tried all sorts of techniques. We started paper routes for those who for one reason or another didn't want to take a six-months sub, but were willing to have the paper delivered five weeks for a quarter.

"Four comrades eventually obtained 200 of these quarter subscriptions which came to be our main source of six-months and one-year subs.

"The main thing to remember is to keep the sale of **The Militant** in the forefront of your mind. Casual conversations in the street lead to subscriptions. I'd like to say again that selling the paper is the result of consistent work. Finally, I'd like to congratulate everybody on the job they did. I'm proud of them."

As Master of Ceremonies, James P. Cannon presented the **New York Local** with its award as winner in the Oscar Coover **League.** The award, a large blue banner with a gold inscription, was accepted by Harry Ring, Acting Organizer of the Local.

Lucille and **Mary Leo,** co-champions of the New York Local, were awarded scrolls and three days free vacation at the camp.

Philadelphia's champion, **Abe,** stressed some of the techniques helpful in selling **The Militant.** "The best place of all is on the job," he said.

Dorothy B., champion of the **Newark** branch received a scroll and a portrait of Leon Trotsky.

Boston's champion, **Belle Patch,** told about the paper route which she had built up before the campaign. She is now delivering 100 Militants a week.

Lou Cooper of **Akron,** winner in the Kujac League could not be present. His wife, Kate, accepted the award in his behalf.

Winifred Nelson of **St. Paul,** one of the Twin Cities' top scorers, told about subgetting during the campaign and how the Minnesotans managed to win an unusually large number of positions on the national scoreboard.

Pearl, sparkplug of the **New Haven** Branch was awarded a scroll.

Dorothy Johnson, Circulation Manager of **The Militant,** told of the excitement in the business office when the first subs started to roll in and how the comrades had to scramble to keep up with the subs that poured in.

A letter from Art Preis, hailing the champion sub-getters was read. The socialist journalist is now ill in the hospital. The following telegram from the Twin Cities was also read: "It would not have been possible to have this splendid Militant celebration banquet in the Twin Cities if there had not been a generous, devoted and capable labor journalist like Art Preis, whose years of brilliant work helped so mightily to make **The Militant** the only true labor paper in the United States. Our deepest thanks and our best wishes for a speedy recovery. Grace Carlson, Minnesota Organizer."

James P. Cannon submitted a motion to send greetings to Art Preis. It was passed unanimously.

Joseph Andrews, speaking for the editorial staff of **The Militant,** compared the big boost in the circulation of **The Militant** with the status of other radical papers. "The **Call** has just sent out an S.O.S. No money to get out the next issue. **The Daily Worker** has cut down its size; and its circulation has been steadily dropping for the past couple of years. **Labor Action** has made no move toward imitating our achievement in the sub drive."

He noted that the campaign occurred in the midst of the Korean war, at the height of the witch-hunt and with inflation taking enormous bites out of workers' pocket books. "The sub drive had the important subsidiary result of helping us gauge the mood of the workers. When the points began to pile up, we knew that the confidence of the people in the leadership of U.S. capitalism was crumbling. That's something you can't judge from an office."

He observed that this was the first campaign in which six-months and one-year subscriptions were sold in door-to-door work. Previous campaigns had special rates and short-term subs. He paid high tribute to the members of the Socialist Workers Party who went out day after day during the ten-weeks campaign to help spread the creed of socialism, "the best creed there is."

The meeting concluded with a stirring rendition of the traditional song of the socialist movement, the Internationale.

Suh Min-ho, chairman of a committee of the Korean National Assembly, report that 50,000 South Korean conscripts have died from starvation and disease in military camps since last December.

TWIN CITIES BANQUET HONORS LOCAL 'MILITANT' SUB-GETTERS

By Harold Kent

MINNEAPOLIS, July 14 — A banquet honoring the champions in **The Militant** campaign was held at SWP headquarters here tonight. Sponsored by the Twin Cities branches, a packed hall greeted the local winners and the guest of honor, Mary of Chicago. V. R. Dunne was Master of Ceremonies.

Dunne read a letter of greetings from Farrell Dobbs of Chicago. He also read telegrams to be sent to Mountain Spring Camp, to the Chicago branch, and to Art Preis. He noted that the **Militant** champions at the head table represented 7,542 points in the campaign. This, he remarked, was exclusive of the points chalked up by the three top Twin Cities sub-getters, Paul, Pauline and Winnie.

Dunne paid tribute to the memory of Oscar Coover, whose devotion to the working class provided so much inspiration for the brilliantly successful **Militant** campaign.

Each of the winners spoke briefly about experiences in the campaign. In order of points achieved they were Harry, Jean, Walt, Bill, Fannie and Wally. Mary concluded her remarks with an explanation of how she rolled up the second largest total in the nation: "My method? I just knocked on every door."

The banquet committee provided a delicious supper and served the guests smoothly and efficiently. The menu consisted of wine, escalloped potatoes, baked ham with raisin sauce, buttered carrots, relishes, parkerhouse rolls, coffee and pie. The enthusiastic guests contributed a generous collection to aid **The Militant.**

THE MILITANT

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Ruining the Dollar

By Tom Conlan

How much is a dollar worth nowadays? A figure commonly cited is that the 1951 dollar is worth about 50 cents in terms of prewar currency. And that is so. The decline in the purchasing power of the dollar is graphically illustrated by a comparative list drawn up by A. J. Wickens, Deputy Commissioner of the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In 1939 a ten dollar bill could purchase 25 food items, or a supply of basic necessities that would enable an average family to get by for a week; in 1951 the same ten dollar bill barely covers the cost of seven items.

When you take into account the list below and then add the chunk that is regularly lopped off by the various direct and hidden federal, state and local taxes, the purchasing power of $60 today hardly amounts to more than that of $30 of the prewar vintage.

Yet a $60 a week paycheck is a good deal more than the great majority of American workers nowadays take home. Those that do, actually make only half that amount in terms of prewar purchasing power. We hear a great deal of talk about high wages and labor's gains. Is $30 a week in prewar standards so remarkably high? Or have the workers of this country been getting a first class rooking all these years?

Commissioner Wickens' list follows:

Ten Dollars (prewar)	Ten Dollars (1951)
10 pounds flour	10 pounds flour
5 pounds sugar	5 pounds sugar
15 pounds potatoes	15 pounds potatoes
2 loaves bread	2 loaves bread
7 quarts milk	7 quarts milk
6 pounds rib roast	6 pounds rib roast
2 pounds bacon	1 pound bacon
2 pounds butter	
1 package rolled oats	
2 dozen oranges	
1 pound coffee	
5 pounds cabbage	
3 pounds green beans	
2 pounds veal cutlet and pork chops	
1 can salmon	
3 pounds onions	
1 pound cheese	
2 dozen eggs	
3 pounds apples	
2 cans tomatoes	
2 bunches carrots	
1 can peaches	
2 cans peas	
1 head lettuce	
1 box dried prunes.	

A Damning Admission

By Thomas Raymond

A certain Edward Crankshaw has written an article in the Sunday New York Times magazine this July 15 that gives a good example of criminal pen prostitution. This Crankshaw is touted as an English historian and author who has lived in Russia; a "Russian expert" in other words. We have seen his stuff before. He has been active with his pen whipping out the usual war propaganda, as "experts" do these days.

We are not very much interested in his latest expert work in the Times. It is the usual garbage that passes for "expert analysis" these days: trivial and superficial observations about Russia strung together on the thread of the author's ignorance. For example, Crankshaw explains that the Kremlin is guided by the "Marxist-Leninist" creed, an idea which is retained only by the most empty-headed "experts" today. A genuine expert knows very well that the Kremlin bureaucrats have long ago given up genuine Communism, and work only for the narrow self-interest of the clique that usurped power in the Soviet Union.

But there is one statement that Crankshaw makes in passing that catches our attention, and it is this:

.."In other words," he says, "if there ever was a danger of a Russian attack, which I myself have never believed, that danger has passed its peak."

Now just take a good look at this remark. Walk all around it, and examine it from all sides. What does it mean when someone says that he has "never believed" that there is or has ever been "a danger of a Russian attack? It means that he does not believe in the foundation, the basis, of all the criminal war propaganda, war preparations, of the past six years. For hasn't this been the reason given by the big business interests who dominate this country for all of their war campaigns?

Think of the complete destruction of the Korean peninsula, of the preparations of the imperialists for atomic war, of the enormous war budgets that weigh on the backs of the people of the western world. And think, above all, of the violent destructive war which threatens as a result of all this — a war which may wipe out a majority of the population of the earth, including for the first time a part of the population of this country!

Now what would you say of a man who goes along with all of this, although he "never believed" in the reason that was given and is still being given to back it all up? Wouldn't you say that his urgent and inescapable duty is to denounce the whole criminal war campaign, and to expose the lie upon which it rests? And wouldn't you say that, if he doesn't do this, but instead writes as though this war campaign and everything it is based upon is the truth, wouldn't you call him a prostitute?

But of course, we shouldn't be too hard on Crankshaw. He is only an insignificant instance. Hundreds of others, even thousands of other writers on two continents, are doing the same thing. Crankshaw has only let slip into print what many of them believe; maybe he is even a little better than most of them for having done that.

"Scylla and Charybdis"

By Harry Frankel

John L. Lewis, in a TV interview Sunday night, was asked about his position in the coming Presidential campaign if Truman and Taft were the major party candidates. Lewis said it would be like choosing "between Scylla and Charybdis," the monster and fatal whirlpool in Greek mythology.

However, after this promising beginning, Lewis went on to say that he thought General MacArthur is "one of the greatest of our contemporary Americans." This implies Lewis support for MacArthur if he runs for the presidency in 1952.

This is a pefect example of Lewis' shortcomings as a leader of labor when he attempts to give political advice to the workers. He sees the defects of the course which the "official" leaders of the labor movement have mapped out, but he has nothing better to offer himself. Thus, while he advises against support of either Taft or Truman, all that he has to offer in their place is — MacArthur! As though the labor movement could expect better treatment from a brass hat than it has gotten from Taft and Truman. MacArthur is the most reactionary of the military caste, the butcher of colonial peoples and the enemy of American workers.

Of the national labor leaders today, Lewis is the best. He has fought with rare power and tenacity in defense of the interests of the Mine Workers, and in so doing, has pioneered gains for the whole working class. But his political record, while it is different from the record of the Murray's and the Greens, is not a bit better.

Lewis fumes with rage, and rightly so, at the shameful political betrayal of the labor movement by the Murray-Green leadership of the AFL and CIO. But he himself has supported both Democrats and Republicans.

During the interview Lewis stated that the only thing holding back the formation of a united labor movement in this country is labor's leadership. This statement is absolutely correct. But Lewis should have continued. Not only are they preventing unity, they are also holding back the labor movement from the formation of an independent Labor Party.

And, unfortunately, the labor leaders are being aided and abetted in this second crime by John L. Lewis himself.

Short Subjects

A grieving father ordered a stone memorial erected near a Savannah, Ga., highway with the following inscription:

"In memory of 19-year-old James Waring Horning, Jr., USMC, killed in action December 2, 1950, Yudam-Ni Chosin Reservoir, Korea.

"The incompetent, greedy, confused politicians elected in 1948 were responsible for this boy being murdered in Korea."

* * *

The $2,500 platinum-diamond bracelet stolen from Senator George's apartment recently was a keepsake presented to the Senator's wife for christening one of the Sun Shipbuilding Company vessels in 1942. It's presents like that which have kept Congress from investigating the five billion dollar war-time ship steal that came to light in 1946.

* * *

Some 500 angry women stormed the House of Commons in London last week demanding equal pay with men for equal work. Recently Hugh Gaitskell, Chancellor of the Exchequer, rejected the demand, saying it would "cost too much."

* * *

The Senate Preparedness Subcommittee reports that at three Army camp areas landlords are gouging the families of service men. Near Camp Breckinridge a corporal and family of three were charged $25 a month for a hovel made of whiskey bottles and beer cans. A garage converted into two apartments rented for $100. In another case, an "enterprising minister" rented a former CCC camp for $25 a month, then sublet it for $148.

* * *

John O'Donnell, N. Y. News columnist, says that it is now rumored in Washington that the two missing British diplomats were shot through the head by either British or American intelligence agents to keep them from revealing secrets to Moscow. O'Donnell approves of the rumored murder and wishes he "had a part of it."

The Kremlin has brought out a new magazine in Moscow called News. Printed in English, it's line is emphasis of "friendship" with American imperialism and the possibility of "peaceable coexistence."

* * *

The Senate Small Business Committee reports that a few favored Big Business concerns are getting the lion's share of war contracts. Ten large companies have been awarded 40 percent of the total dollar volume since the beginning of the war in Korea, while 50 companies got almost two-thirds of the dollar volume.

* * *

The high cost of meat was blamed for an unusually high proportion of rejections of people offering blood for the troops in Korea. When a Red Cross bloodmobile came to Westfield, Mass., 32 out of 159 donors were turned down chiefly because of the low iron content in their blood. Red Cross officials attributed this to the fact that people are not eating enough meat.

* * *

For weeks the Detroit press has been using eight-column banners telling about the possibility of further lay-offs. The "chances for a full-employment year (in auto) have practically vanished," one dispatch admits. It is estimated that since mid-year, 10 percent of the working force have been laid off.

* * *

If Americans didn't have to eat, they would be better off today than in 1939. This was the substance of an interview given by Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder this week at Oak Ridge, Tenn. Snyder said: "I don't feel sorry for the American dollar. The dollar is worth 40 per cent more today, per capita, than it was in 1939, taking into consideration the adjustments in taxes and wages." Then he added that with the exception of groceries, Americans get more for their money now than in 1939.

Mob Wrecks Apartment Building in Cicero; Police Stand By; Governor Delays Troops

Laying It on Thick

Eric Johnston (r.) tells a group of interested New York housewives about his plan to roll back prices. Truman's economic stabilizer is doing his best to make it appear that the Democrats are really concerned about holding back price rises. However, the Democratic-Republican machine is riding rough-shod over the nation-wide demand for action on skyrocketing prices. Are the housewives laughing at Johnston's "plan"?

POLICE, GOVT. SHARE GUILT IN CICERO RIOT

(Continued from Page 1)

held to be in "contempt" and are heavily fined. When a radical refuses to inform on his friends, he is held in "contempt" and sent to prison. But a court order in support of civil rights can be and is flouted by the authorities with impunity.

Uniformed highway police from the office of Cook County Sheriff John Babb were also present at the rioting on July 11. So were another 30 police from the office of the State's Attorney. They too made no effort to arrest any of the violators of the laws they are paid to uphold.

The hoodlums saw this, and for them it was a green light They felt they could do as they wished. They got bolder, and found it easier to recruit more followers in the following days.

GOVERNOR'S ROLE

Appeals were made to Gov. Stevenson for the National Guard. He refused, arguing the local authorities could handle the situation. When he finally acted two days later, the hoodlums were already several thousand strong, had wrecked the entire building and achieved their main purposes.

These facts show that the hoodlums had the help of the local, county and state authorities — both by what they did and didn't do.

And what about the federal authorities? They said nothing and did nothing. The FBI was evidently too busy hunting the missing eight Stalinist leaders to be bothered with such trifles as mob rule in Cicero.

Cicero proves what socialists say: "Law and order" are stringently maintained when the profits and privileges of the capitalists are threatened, but they are flagrantly disregarded when the rights of workers, Negroes and radicals are attacked. Government authority is not impartial, but an instrument of class rule intended to keep the rich on top.

Cicero also underscores what Peekskill demonstrated: **We can't depend on the capitalist authorities to protect our rights. If we depend on them, we will end up as the slaves of a police state. That is why we must organize independently, in a Labor Party and in union defense guards, to defend our democratic rights against all who threaten them.**

Review Board Turns Down Plea in Case of Leon Gilbert

The Army is showing no mercy to Lt. Leon A. Gilbert, Negro officer who was sentenced to death in Korea last year on trumped-up "insubordination" charges.

A nation-wide campaign of protest against this flagrant injustice forced President Truman to cancel the death sentence last November. But instead of freeing Gilbert, the White House commuted his sentence to a 20-year prison term.

Since then, defenders of Gilbert have been trying to win his freedom. One of the moves in this campaign was an appeal by Gilbert for the reduction of his sentence, which he is serving at the U.S. Army Disciplinary Barracks at Camp Cooke, Calif.

Last week an Army review board turned down his appeal.

Gilbert was chosen by the brass hats as an example designed to terrorize Negro troops and teach them that they are still second-class citizens in the armed forces.

The brass hats were prevented by mass protest from taking Gilbert's life on the gallows. But they are determined to do what they consider the next best thing — work him to death.

LT. LEON A. GILBERT

Gilbert was railroaded to prison solely because of the color of his skin. A white officer in his place, during the first weeks of the Korean war when all the U.S. troops were retreating, would have been sent to the rear as a combat fatigue case instead of being court-martialed.

Neither Truman nor the military bureaucrats intend to let Gilbert go free. It will take the militant action of the labor and Negro movements to achieve that.

St. Paul Holds Strawberry Day

ST. PAUL, Minn., July 5 — The sixteenth annual Strawberry Festival of the Socialist Workers Party was held yesterday in nearby White Bear, under sponsorship of the St. Paul branch.

Workers and their families — nearly 100 in all — came to enjoy a program of organized sports and games for children, restful relaxation and discussion for adults, topped off with a delicious supper of potato salad, sandwiches, and strawberry shortcake, heaped with berries and whipped cream.

Several new Militant subscribers attended, and expressed a real interest in the SWP.

Coffee is again piling up in Brazil. The Vargas government which has been buying up the surplus beans is considering burning them.

2,000 Angry Chicagoans Protest Violence; NAACP Plans Fight for Rights of Couple

CHCAGO, July 17 — "The war in Cicero will not be over as soon as the war in Korea." Thus attorney George N. Leighton, chief counsel for the embattled Negro veteran, Harvey E. Clark Jr., summed up his speech before a crowd of 2,000 angry Chicago citizens gathered in the Metropolitan Church to hear the NAACP report on the case of the young veteran whose rental of a Cicero apartment set off the anti-Negro riot in that suburb last week.

Cicero, the home ground of the old Capone mob, prides itself on being lily-white. When the building at 6139 W. 19th St. was purchased recently by a Negro real estate company, Harvey Clark rented a third floor apartment. When he attempted to move in, the Cicero police forcibly prevented him. Clark took the case to court and on June 27 Federal Judge Barnes issued an order forcing the Cicero police to permit the Clark family to occupy the apartment and to give them protection.

On July 10 Clark and his young wife, Johnette, supervised the moving of their new furniture and personal possessions into the flat. When they arrived at the scene, they found a hostile mob of 500 already there. The "protection" they got from the insolent police guard, whose attitude to the mob was very friendly, convinced them it would not be safe to stay there that night. It is well that they left.

MOB GROWS

By nightfall the mob had grown to 3,000. They contented themselves with throwing rocks at the third floor flat, in deference to the 19 white families still in residence. On Wednesday the white families vacated the building.

All day Wednesday tension mounted in the area. By night the crowd had reached 6,000.

A Chicago Unitarian minister, Homer Jack, told the NAACP meeting that he had no trouble getting to the scene, despite a "police guard" thrown up four blocks away. The crowd filtered to the building down alleys left unguarded. **One hoodlum bombarding the building with rocks used the police car spotlight to guide his missiles!**

Mr. Jack also reported that he saw the notorious Joseph Beauharnis, leader of the White Circle League, openly passing out inflammatory leaflets. The League, a vicious anti-Negro organization with a record in Chicago of inciting to riot against the Negro people, was ordered disbanded in court action less than a year ago.

Today Beauharnis is working openly in Cicero with his White Circle League. His presence there is a refutation of the false position of the liberals who depend on court action to wipe out his breed. **Beauharnis and his fascistic organization are as much alive today as they were before they were "disbanded" by court action.**

GANG BREAKS IN

Wednesday night's events were climaxed when a gang broke into the building, wrecking as they went, but concentrating on the Clark apartment. Everything moveable was thrown out the windows into a vacant lot; everything not moveable was smashed.

A funeral pile of the Clark possessions went up in flames, while the Cicero police, fire department, the Cook County sheriff's force and the state police stood by. **No arrests were made.**

Mr. Clark, interviewed over Station WGES by the Negro commentator, Oscar Brown Jr., said: "We had bought the furniture to fit the apartment. We went 'way over our heads. **Everything we owned is gone, an accumulation of nine years.**"

By Thursday night the mob had multiplied to 8,000. It was then that Sheriff Babb, Cook County's chief law enforcement official, who on Tuesday had proclaimed his "neutrality," appealed to Gov. Stevenson for the National Guards. Four companies were mobilized and brought to the scene.

FIGHTS BREAK OUT

With the arrival of the troops the mood of the mob, which up to that point had been getting along fine with the law, turned sullen. Numerous fights between the troops and the mob broke out. Sixteen people, including six Guardsmen, were injured seriously enough to require hospitalization. Seventy persons were arrested that night.

Since then a total of 117 has been arrested. All 117 were released in $50 bond, charged with misdemeanors, unlawful assembly, etc. On July 16, when they appeared in court, they carried banners — "Hold. Hold. Cicero White" — and nothing was done about it. They were all released for another court hearing on Aug. 6.

The NAACP meeting last night heard a report from Secretary Walter White, who announced that pressure against the Negro landlord of the wrecked building has begun. The mortgage has been cancelled, and all insurance on the building has been withdrawn. White introduced Clark and his family to the audience. They got a standing ovation. Mr. Clark, in a few words, thanked the audience and the NAACP and told them he has two brothers fighting in Korea today.

Attorney Leighton outlined the legal steps to be taken by the NAACP. This fight will include three actions: (1.) Contempt proceedings against the Cicero police department and a suit to recover for property damage. (2.) Contempt proceedings against individual members of the mob and indictments of those arrested for inciting to riot. (3.) A demand for investigation of the affair by the federal government.

The meeting, called to set up a defense and legal fund for the Clark family, collected $1,756.75 in cash and took many pledges.

Meanwhile, a sullen peace, imposed on Cicero by the presence of the National Guard, can break up at any moment. The NAACP has announced that the Clark family will move back into the building as soon as it is safe for them to do so. Part of the Guard has already been withdrawn; no one can be sure what will happen when the rest go. The "war in Cicero" has only just begun.

The Negro Struggle

Effective Defense Against Mobs

By Jean Blake

Simple defense against violence by police and other race-haters has been a burning need of Negroes throughout this country for a long time, but a number of recent incidents should make it clear to the most blind that reliance on law enforcement agencies alone will do no good. New methods are needed at once.

On the same day that local police and firemen aided the Cicero mob by standing by without lifting a finger, a similar ugly incident occurred in Capitol Heights, Md. A mob of 400 persons used force and violence to try to bar Negroes from a nightclub which had opened its doors to both Negroes and whites. Police reportedly used tear gas and fire hoses to quiet the rioters; but will that help in a community where segregation is the official pattern?

In Atlanta, Ga., during the annual convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People two weeks ago, the second Negro home was dynamited by race-haters in two weeks. Again, the violence was part of an attempt to prevent Negroes from moving into neighborhoods which white supremacists have appropriated.

In Chicago, Ill., also in June, the home of Dr. Percy L. Julian, noted Negro research scientist, was dynamited for similar reasons. And no convictions or arrests have been made by the authorities. According to the executive director of the Commission on Human Rights, "attacks against Negroes, although decreasing in number, are increasing in violence."

Where will the murderous race-haters strike next? What can Negroes do to protect themselves? Where can they look for help?

It is obvious that the force and violence boys have been emboldened by repeated demonstrations that the force of "law and order" are on their side. From Congress and the President down, no effective action has been taken to end the official segregation and discrimination that is the prevailing pattern in America.

The President continues to refuse to issue an executive order for Fair Employment Practices in industry and all government agencies, or to enforce it even in the armed forces, where discrimination is supposed to be against official policy.

Congress refused to enact a single piece of civil right legislation.

Local law enforcement agencies not only refuse to interfere with prevailing patterns of segregation and discrimination, but constantly provide examples for violent elements and miseducated youth through flagrant police brutality against Negroes and other members of minority groups.

The reliance of the NAACP on court actions alone obviously has failed to change the patterns or protect life and limb. Something different is needed, and that is an effective defense guard.

The unions learned through bitter experience during their strikes and organizing campaigns, that it was necessary to organize their own defense against scabs and police violence. They learned to rely on their own strength and numbers, and to maintain "flying squads" mobile enough to arrive at the scene of danger in time to provide effective aid to their brothers.

Many Negro workers participated in the CIO struggles and are familiar with the techniques and procedures. Now they should apply them in the defense of Negro families whose lives are endangered by white mobs.

For aid in such defense, Negroes have a right to look to the labor movement. And it is necessary that they do so since the presence of their white fellow workers by their side has a double value. It prevents the isolation of the Negro minority in such struggles and it demoralizes those who would like to convert hoodlum action into race riots. At the same time it provides a much-needed education for youth to counter the bigotry that has been planted in them.

Philip Murray, president of the CIO, and other labor leaders, have long supported the demands for civil rights legislation. Now is the time to ask labor for direct support of civil rights for Negroes — the kind of support unions can give without going to Washington to appeal to the deaf ears of capitalist politicians.

In the post-war race riot in Detroit we saw the beginnings of such an alliance for defense of Negroes. Today it is necessary to consciously organize such defense for every trouble spot in the United States.

In self defense, unions must act to nip race riots in the bud. Nothing can weaken labor and expose its organizations for destruction more than to have its membership divided by racial and religious conflict. The best way to avoid such a danger is to take clear and unequivocal action to defend minorities now.